

TERMS—ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.



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THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

Published on the first of every month, is the official organ of the American Colonization Society. It is intended to be a record of the Society's proceedings, and of the movements made in all parts of the world for the civilization and evangelization of Africa. It is sent without charge, when requested, to the Officers of the Society and of its Auxiliaries, to Life Members, and to Annual Contributors of ten dollars and upwards to the funds of this Society. To subscribers it is supplied at One Dollar per annum, payable in advance. Remittances for it may be made to the address of the Financial or the Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

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[No. 11.]

LIBERIA AS A MEANS, NOT AN END.*

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen of the Common Council :

One year ago to-day I stood three thousand feet above the level of the sea, on one of the higher ridges of Lebanon—"that goodly mountain"—to deliver, in the presence of sympathising foreigners, under the folds of the American flag, a Twenty-sixth of July oration. To-day, in the providence of God, having escaped various dangers of the sea and land, and "safe at home," I appear on this platform to rejoice with you on the recurrence of another anniversary of the independence of our little Republic.

All the world is astir. The year 1867, like its predecessors of the present decade, has brought excitement and upheavings in various parts of the globe. If we look to Europe we see different States in commotion. Italy, Greece, Austria, Turkey, are all unsettled. Prussia, though triumphant, is all excitement and expectation. Russia is advancing eastward and fraternizing with the great western continent. If we turn our eyes to the west we see North and South and Central America all in an unsettled state. Liberia has not escaped the influence of the storms of human passions and human activities. We have had our excitement here. We have just passed through another of those political revolutions, too frequent in our history, when, according to the genius of our government, the people become for awhile the dictators of the country, determining who shall, for the next two years, wield the legislative and executive power. Though there are many unnecessary

*The Annual Address before the Mayor and Common Council of the city of Monrovia, July 26, 1867, the day of National Independence; and repeated on Thursday, August 1, 1867, at Clay-Ashland, St. Paul's River, by Rev. EDWARD W. BLYDEN, A. M., Fulton Professor in Liberia College.

and injurious evils attending these commotions, yet we need them. These storms drive away the malaria of stagnation. It is in the excitements more or less violent of these very political contests that the cause of truth finds its most reasonable hope. Our institutions are founded upon the will of the masses; and it is during these periods that the masses are instructed by the discussions which arise for the work devolving upon them. And in the various discussions there will be collision. There are always those who have what are called ultra or radical views of progress, and others who have no idea of progress at all. These are the centripetal and centrifugal forces of society. Times of excitement bring these forces into conflict; but whatever the apparent result, the cause of truth ever gains; there are ever accessions to the ranks of its supporters. Some precious things, in the struggle, are no doubt injured; a great deal of "old currency" is shattered to the winds, but truth, which is eternal, ever gains supremacy. A campaign may end in victory for a party—the actual struggle may be determined by putting one man at the head of affairs for the time; but this does not determine the essential result of the conflict. During the canvass men receive new views on various matters, and though in casting their vote they may cast it against those views in obedience to the circumstantial impulse they may have previously received, yet they retain the new impressions, and in the course of time those impressions fructify, and if they are according to truth the recipients are found acting in conformity with them. Thus the final victory is always on the side of truth and progress. It was thus in the United States. When the Republican party first arose as a defender of the rights of the people, it was violently opposed. The Democrats frequently and easily achieved campaign victories over them; but, meanwhile, the people were getting more and more indoctrinated in the views of the progressive but unsuccessful party, until in the memorable year of 1860, the Republican party, hardly suspecting its own power, triumphantly carried the day by the help of the recruits it had gathered, not by demonstrations of physical or numerical force, but by unceasing discussions and irresistible arguments. It is not then by the victory of any party in a given

campaign that the growing influence of principles and measures must be judged, but by the moral weight and increasing momentum of principles gradually permeating the masses of the people, and it is only by this means that ultimate and permanent conquest is securely won. Revolutions never go backward.

"The fight for freedom once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft is ever won."

Liberia is progressing. Formerly when there was but a single influence brought to bear upon a much smaller community, and the people all went one way, there was no friction, no excitement, no stir, no commotion,

"Along the cool, sequestered vale of life
They held the even tenor of their way,"

But our national life has expanded. The people have multiplied; new duties are opened before us; the old mechanical existence is broken up; the regular routine disturbed, and we are moving more rapidly towards national stability. One of the marks of progress, it has been said, is a tendency to extremes. This is true, paradoxical as it may appear. In proportion as you increase the velocity with which you travel you augment the vibrations and oscillations of your career. Of course there will be a proportionate increase of danger. Men will be disposed to rush into extravagance in their political and social views. But the tendency to extremes is a mark of progress. Therefore while we must deprecate needless evils attending our periodical commotions, the commotions themselves must be looked upon as, on the whole, desirable and healthful influences in the body politic. Various theories and plans are discussed, the people are now no longer the recipients of stereotyped opinions, or mere machines to be set in motion at the will of a few. They begin to think for themselves. We cannot afford to have peace at the sacrifice of this great blessing. We cannot, we must not, purchase repose with the relapse of the people into listless indifference or mental bondage, "Even a heathen has taught us," says the Bishop of Carlisle, "that truth is more precious than friendship."* If we tamely sacrifice principle for the sake of peace, instead of sacrificing peace

* Charge on "Ritualistic Innovations," 1866.

for the sake of principle, we are sellers of virtue. Charity is good, but truth is better. "First *pure*, and then *peaceable*," is the apostolic rule. It is evident to reason, and is the experience of history that cessation from strife is not necessarily salvation. "It may be the peace of tyranny, such as Nero sought to produce in the religious elements of his heathen capital. It may be the peace of ignorance, such as regulated the relation between the uneducated and dark-minded slave and the enlightened master." But, I ask to-day, do these various conditions of peace denote perfection of society in its social, political, or religious state? And if not, if there is in such peace a hindrance to progress towards perfection and true prosperity, is it to be considered a crime to disturb it? "Paul and the early apostles thought not when they disobeyed the unrighteous demands of the Roman tyrant, and lit up his pleasure-gardens with their burning bodies. Luther thought not, as he hurled the truth of the Protestant Bible, red-hot, at the Papal throne, and set all Europe in a blaze. Those good old fathers—the sons of the peace-loving and peace-seeking Puritans—thought not, when they repudiated oppression, and bled and died, that over their fresh made graves it might be written that 'all men are created equal, and are entitled to life and to liberty.'"

What we want in Liberia is free discussion, untrammelled liberty of opinion, with the self-evident principle that what cannot outlive this free discussion is worthy to die. Whatever is not so based on the foundation of truth and a common humanity as to endure such discussion and rise above the swelling current of public opinion, ought to be swept away by it. Does reason or experience teach us there is anything wrong in this?

And we are fast acquiring this liberty. The minds of the people are being set at work. They now think, and talk, and demur, and object, and modify, and approve, and condemn, and reject. Things are brought to the sun and tried in various lights; and we are getting more and more to see the great truth which I beg to announce as a subject of consideration to-day, viz: That LIBERIA IS A MEANS, NOT AN END.

The observation has often been made that Liberia is a child of Divine Providence. And if we will carefully consider the past

of this Republic, insignificant as it may appear among the nations of the earth, we cannot but discover that the whole current of events connected with the settlement and growth of this country reveals a purpose on the part of the Almighty—a purpose of high and far-reaching import; and so far as we have comprehended that purpose and labored to carry it out, so far we have succeeded.

A little more than forty years ago the territory of Liberia comprised but a small island a few yards in length and a few feet in breadth, now we have hundreds of miles of coast and an indefinite interior. *Then* the people of Liberia were kept in constant dread by a handful of aborigines; *now* hundreds of thousands are subject to their rule. *Then* we were unknown to the nations of the earth; *now* every great nation has extended to us the hand of friendship. And why have we been thus blessed? Why have we been enabled to lay the foundations of empire with almost no resources of men or means? Why were we permitted to contend, successfully, against combinations of wicked and avaricious slave-traders with ignorant and barbarous natives? How is it to be accounted for that of the one hundred and fifty companies of emigrants who have crossed the Atlantic for Liberia, not one has ever suffered any serious marine disaster? We must come to the conclusion that there is some commensurate object to be accomplished. Well what is that object? Not for territorial aggrandizement; not to establish a political organization on the coast as a theatre for the schemes and activities of rival political parties; not as a scene for the display of military skill or the manifestation of statesman-like genius; not to build up a few towns on the seaboard and a few large houses in those towns, and sit down in the indolent enjoyment of what we call liberty. We are not here to gratify personal ambition, or fulfil personal aims; not merely even to build up a substantial nationality as an asylum for the proscribed of our race in other parts of the world. For we might have erected nationalities in the western hemisphere as other descendants of Africa have done. But we are here to do what we could not do elsewhere, and what can be done by no other people. The grand and master purpose of our existence here is a philanthropic one. We are here that

through our Christianity and civilization our brethren might be enlightened, elevated, and saved. We are here to assist in rescuing a continent from the grasp of "remorseless superstition;" to raise from darkness and degradation millions of our own blood relations. And mark the providence of God in the choice of the spot where we have settled. Had the pioneers of Liberia settled further north, they would not have been able to stand up against the powerful and warlike tribes with whom they would have come into contact. Had they gone further south, they would have been at an inconvenient distance from the intelligent tribes to whom we now have ready access, and who with their written language and partial knowledge of the true God, will be an important auxiliary when we make up our minds to advance with energy into their interior. We are a wedge most opportunely inserted. Extending our right hand to our brethren of the south, and our left to our brethren of the north, we may march joyfully and uninterruptedly towards the rising sun. A noble, glorious work.

And this is a work in which it is for our interest as individuals and as a State to enter upon as speedily as possible, with unremitting zeal and devotion. If we aspire to have a brilliant and wealthy nation, it seems to me we shall fail. We are not called to the work of extensive material conquests—to be great navigators or great commercial adventurers. It does not appear to me that our flag will "float on every breeze," or our "sail" whiten every sea; and if we aspire after these things we shall utterly misapprehend our mission, and all our endeavors will be resultless. We shall have the name, perhaps, of being a nation, but we shall be so only in name—"A painted ship upon a painted ocean;" or we shall resemble those specimens in natural history which one sees in museums abroad. You see birds of splendid form and magnificent plumage, some with extended wing, as if just about to mount on high; but you examine them more closely, and you find that they are only stuffed. The dove cannot coo, the raven cannot croak, the nightingale cannot sing, the eagle cannot soar. Such shall we be if we mistake or lose sight of the end for which we were established on this coast.

European nations are now taking a lively interest in African explorations and in the development of the resources of this continent. England has lately appointed a consul to reside on the Niger. France is sending out explorers from Senegal to the heart of the continent; and it has been predicted by a celebrated teacher, that, in a few years, European boats will keep up a regular intercourse between the great basin of the Tshad and the Bay of Biafra; and if so, they will certainly drain the whole of the intervening country, which is extremely rich and fertile, of its wealth. It is very clear to every thinking mind that no prudent people should be content with the position we have hitherto maintained. We ought not to be content to have in our hands an effective instrument of substantial influence and live year after year without using that instrument. It is evident that the most effective plan for preventing the encroachments of Europeans on our eastern borders, is to be wary and diligent in time—devoted to the work of fraternizing with the natives. We might long since, by a judicious policy, have had them so firmly bound to us that it would have been altogether impossible for any foreign influence to interfere with our control of them.

So long as we continue the policy of adhering to the coast, and keeping from enlarging the sphere of our influence towards the interior, it is to no purpose that we labor and toil here to build up a nation: it is to no purpose that we get Presidents of consummate ability, or Ministers of Finance to regulate the finances wisely, we shall ever be impoverished and devoid of significance in the world. Can we make a nation without the aid of the aborigines? Were it not for them should we have any commerce worthy of the name? any coast-wise trade upon which to place restrictions? When we went before the world to ask to be received into the family of nations, did we not base our request upon the native population? Was it not them that we professed to represent? Just as at that time it was to our interest to avail ourselves of their numerical assistance to secure national recognition, so now it is our wisest policy, apart from philanthropic duties, to fraternize with them in order to secure national strength and respectability. We should court their friendship by an energetic and sympathetic

intercourse with them. We should attract their children to our institutions of learning. A distinguished foreigner asked me some time ago whether we had many aborigines in our College, and suggested that it would be a high degree of prudence to attract the sons of influential chiefs from the surrounding tribes, and even from other parts of the coast, to our educational institutions. He thought it would be much better for them to be educated in Liberia among their own people and in a congenial climate than to be sent to Europe, where they often die from the rigors of the climate, or contract habits and tastes which unfit them for useful residence in their own country when they return. And it would not be an unwise policy, if we could have commissioners, civilized, educated, and Christian men, representing our government at the principal towns—the great marts of trade in the far interior—Boporah and Musadu for instance—whose duty it should be to learn the languages of the powerful tribes and instruct them in civilized practices, and form alliance with those who may be disposed to be friendly.

When we consider the long and dreary night of our suffering, and the universal character of our labors, all lands having witnessed our toil and sorrows, it makes the heart sick and the tear start to think that having returned home we should for want of due appreciation of the high and noble mission devolving upon us, fail to do and suffer, to build up our own country as we have done and suffered to build up the country of others. I would not, to-day, turn to the dismal page of our history which tells of proscription and suffering and bloodshed and death. But far beyond other races we have served mankind. There is hardly a country in the world where the negro has not toiled. In various parts of Asia and Europe he may be found. You see him fighting the battles of Turks and Arabs, of Caucasians and Mongolians. In the western hemisphere, far away from his original home, there is not a spot which does not bear marks of his presence. He lives side by side with the European beneath the snows of Canada, along the waters of the great St. Lawrence. He is found toiling in the valley of the Mississippi, on both sides of the father of rivers. He sweats and groans in the wide savannahs of Louisiana and

the rich and luxuriant valleys of Mexico. The lofty range of the Andes knows his power, and the country of the Amazon has experienced his tread. The beautiful Antilles have been tickled with the hoe, and have laughed in abundant harvests to enrich the coffers of Europeans. And whether in Arabia or Syria, in Canada, the United States, or Mexico; whether fighting for the Viceroy of Egypt, for Maximilian or the Emperor of Brazil, for Jeff Davis or for liberty, you find him the same being, having the same aptitude for patient and enduring toil. The same characteristics are everywhere displayed. And notwithstanding the efforts of some professed ethnologists to introduce a mischievous discrimination, and rob the negro race of the honor and thanks which are its due, by claiming certain tribes on this continent of intelligent and enterprising habits as Caucasians, and ascribing every noble effort or praiseworthy achievement in others to the presence of alien blood, still nature will assert her power. The Congo and the Foulah, the Mandingo, the Nubian, and the Dahomian all recognize and easily coalesce with each other when they meet in exile in distant lands. There all tribal distinctions pass away, and they blend as easily as Celt and Teuton and Anglo-Saxon do in America; thus proving that the negro race, like the Caucasian race, under varying degrees of progress, is one from the Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.

"Between us all let oceans roll;
Yet still from either beach
The voice of blood shall reach
More audible than speech,
WE ARE ONE."

Well, I repeat, that it is a sad thing that we should in all parts of the world have contributed to the welfare of others—to the building up and adorning the homes of others, and now that we have reached our own home we should be like reeds shaken with the wind. Our short-comings and failures thus far are no doubt attributable, in a great degree, to the vague, and indefinite and even ambiguous manner in which we have been going on here. We must retrace our steps. For the attainment of any end, there is but one right way—one right road: every other road leads away from it; and having once

started upon the wrong track, there is no possible way of gaining the desired object, but by returning to the starting point and setting out anew.

In the multitude of matters which, in striving to build up a nation here, have engaged our attention, we have been diverted from the great end to which I have referred, and which the pioneers of Liberia had constantly in view. Our temptation is to rest in our present political organization as the great end—and lose sight of its subordinate and subsidiary character in the work of African civilization and evangelization. By confining all our energies to the narrow strip of country which our settlements occupy we have made the impression upon superficial observers abroad that we are not in earnest in erecting a permanent home on these shores; that we sought liberty here not as an *ulterior* end for the accomplishment of a higher purpose, but as the *ultimate* end in which we are to rest; and they infer that any inducement held out in America would cause us *en masse* to relinquish the coast.

In illustration of this last remark I must refer you to a debate which took place in the American Congress, in the month of March last, on a motion to appropriate \$50,000 for the purpose of aiding the American Colonization Society in sending emigrants to Liberia, Mr. Thayer, of Pennsylvania, opposed the appropriation, and in his speech said:

“I move to strike out the paragraph just read. The day has been when the scheme of African colonization enlisted, as we all know, the sympathies and active co-operation of many of the best and most illustrious men whose names appear upon the pages of our history. But, sir, time which tries in its severe crucible the opinions and the acts of men, has in my opinion demonstrated the total impracticability of that scheme and its entire fruitlessness of results. * * * Sir, I cannot better illustrate this remark, perhaps, than by a short anecdote. A friend of mine, who not long since returned from Liberia informed me lately that he had the honor to be present at a state dinner given by the President of Liberia, at which were present all the high officers of the republic. In the banquet-room where this dinner was given was displayed the Liberia flag, upon which was inscribed the noble sentiment: ‘Love of liberty brought us

here.' A high officer of the Liberian Government seated at the table, when this inscription was commented upon, added, 'Yes and want of money keeps us here.' For one I do not wish to be first in the catalogue of those who cannot be taught anything by the lessons of experience."

Another speaker (Mr. Grinnell) opposing the appropriation said: "I am opposed to the appropriation of \$50,000 for the purpose, in the first place, because we have no money to spare; and secondly, because I believe that those who have heretofore desired to leave our country will desire now to remain with us. * * * The colored people who have emigrated to Liberia would not desire to go there now in this year 1867, if they were living in this country. Ay, sir, when they shall learn in Liberia of the passage of the reconstruction bill, which places the negro, from a slave and the servant of a master for fifty years, upon an equality with the proud oppressor, they will throw up their hands and thank God, and wait for the vessel that shall bring them back to their native land."

There is such a constant disposition in certain quarters to disparage and discourage the efforts we are making on this coast; we are so accustomed to be misrepresented, that if it were not for the circumstances attending the speeches from which I have just quoted, I would not go out of my way here to notice them; but statements made on the floor of Congress derive from their place of utterance a practical importance and an amount of influence which, if they are erroneous, should be counteracted.

In reply, then, to the remarks of the honorable gentlemen, I undertake to say that they have betrayed the most astonishing ignorance of the character and aspirations of Liberians generally and the most singular misconception of the work which this nation is designed to achieve. They seem to have some misty idea that we are refugees only waiting for the first intelligence to be brought to us of rights conferred in the land whence we came as a signal for a general retrogressive exodus on our part. And this is perhaps a natural deduction from our national motto, which Mr. Thayer quoted, and the remark made in reference to it, as he states, by a "high officer of the Liberian Govern-

ment," which the honorable gentleman seems to take as expressive of the general feeling in Liberia—"the want of money keeps us here."

I have often, in common with others, taken exception to our motto on account of its expressing only a part of the truth—"The love of liberty brought us here." We have come hither and we enjoy a large and superabundant liberty. Liberty on every hand. Personal liberty, and political liberty, social liberty and ecclesiastical liberty. Nature, in all her departments, tells us of liberty. The sun-beam paints it upon the brilliant clouds; the dews distill it in their refreshing visitations; the wind whistles it through the rustling trees; the river murmurs it in their majestic movement; the ocean thunders it in its surging billows; the flowers exhale it in their delicious fragrance; the birds warble it in their morning carols. Skies and seas, rocks, hills and plains, flora and fauna, mists and shades, damp airs and heats—everything around and above—declare we are free. But, as I have said, this is not the only object of our residence on this coast, or even the main object. But our motto seems to hold that up as the principle thing, implying of course that we would go elsewhere if we could secure the same liberty, and therefore justifying the inference of the speaker in Congress, that the passage of the "reconstruction bill," conferring freedom and equal rights, will attract us back to that newly-developed Elysium of Negro freedom, the United States.

"Illic res laetae, regnumque, et rega conjux."*

Now, as I have already said, I have always looked upon our motto as not sufficiently full. It would, it occurs to me, be suitable as it stands for a people who having left their original home, the land of their ancestors, were dwelling in a strange land, in an uncongenial clime, and among a foreign people. It seems adapted to a people in exile. The Ionians in Asia Minor, the Dorians in Syracuse, the Phœnicians in North Africa, the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock and at Jamestown, might all, with peculiar appropriateness, have adopted that motto. Victor Hugo on the isle of Guernsey, Lamartine under the beams of the Crescent, Louis Kossuth in the embraces of the British

*Æneid II—783.

lion, might sing "the love of liberty brought us here." But we are at home, returned exiles. Our song should rather be—

"Home again! home again! from a foreign shore."

When an exile, far away from his home, looks across the broad ocean that intervenes, towards the land of his ancestors, he no doubt experiences a depression of spirits, and to console himself, may utter such words—"The love of liberty brought me here." But this is the land of our fathers. We can have no legitimate or romantic attachment to any other. If we have any attachment to any other, it must be an attachment morbid, irregular, and harmful; such an attachment as the Jews in the land of Canaan bore to Egypt.

"The United States," says Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island, will always be to him (the African) in some respects an alien country; he can never forget the wrongs that have been done him and his ancestors here; and there is nothing in his reminiscences of the past to make him proud of his American citizenship."*

It is sometimes despondingly asked, whether we can sustain ourselves here if immigration should cease. I answer, by all means; if we adopt the proper policy with regard to the aborigines. Our great mistake hitherto has been that we have been devoted not to the work of regenerating a continent, but to schemes of personal aggrandizement; a thirst not for African civilization, but for Liberian grandeur; dreaming not of elevation and culture for the untold numbers of our brethren, but of their rivers of palm oil and forests of camwood; eager not for their friendship and fraternal intercourse, but for successful bargains with them.

I must confess that I am not at all shaken by the reports from America that the emigration of blacks has fallen off, and by speeches in Congress throwing cold water upon the enterprise of transferring civilized and christianized negroes to their ancestral home. The work we have to do here does not depend upon numbers. It would be much better to have one thousand men with a proper apprehension and genuine appreciation of the work to be done, and a heart to do it, than the whole four millions in the United States without those high and patriotic

* Address before American Colonization Society, January, 1867.

feelings. Doubtless the present changes in America are the winnowing process by which God intends to sift the blacks; and, it may be, after all that, we shall have but Gideon's three hundred, and, going up with these—"the sword of the Lord and of Gideon," we shall subdue this continent to Christ, to liberty, and to cultivation.

But our brethren will come. There are now, at this moment, in the hearts of thousands fervent aspirations after their fatherland; and many more will doubtless be endowed with both the desire and qualification for the work in which we are engaged here. And if we show earnestness and activity in the enterprise of reclaiming this continent, I cannot bring myself to believe that there will be lacking among the descendants of Africa in America the heroic spirit and the filial regard for their ancestral home, which will induce them to haste to the rescue. Nay, I believe that in spite of a thousand reconstruction bills many will be attracted hither, not only by the love of a larger and more ample freedom, but by the prospect of self-sacrifice, of heroic efforts, and of deeds of daring, done to lift up from its darkness and degradation this deeply outraged land. Let them see us extending our influence to the interior, forming friendly alliance with distant tribes, endeavoring to diffuse far and wide light and truth, earnest in the work of recuperation, and they will come. Though now carried away by enchanting visions of happiness in the land of Egypt, they will break loose from the political coquetry and blandishment of which they are the object, and *they will come*. Though the song of political syrens is apparently drawing their affections away from the land of their fathers, *they will come*. They will come, and the desolate places of this land will swarm with them. They will pierce the primeval forests that skirt this coast, pour down the slopes of the mountains east of us, and reach the distant prairies of which we hear, and by the wondrous alchemy of Christianity and civilization of which they will be the bearers, transmute, into productive and progressive beings the thousands of our brethren who now enjoy an aimless and resultless existence. Boporah, Musadu, Futa, and Timbuctoo will feel their power.

It has been the cherished object of the administration which

is soon to retire to carry on this work. If Hon. Messrs. Thayer and Grinnell had read the legislative communications of the present incumbent of the Presidential chair, they would have perceived the impossibility of Liberians of patriotic feelings abandoning their position on account of the passage of "reconstruction bills." They would have seen that the leading minds of Liberia are not forever turned towards the west; that they are not, like Lot's statuesque wife, looking back everlastingly to Sodom, but rather, like Lot himself, their faces lifted to the mountains before them, they are urged on by the angels of progress and enterprise; and that it is altogether impossible to induce men who have their faces thus set for a great work to turn round and go back to a land of humiliation and drudgery, because of the passage of "reconstruction bills."

In his Inaugural Address, delivered January 4, 1864, President Warner said:

"Without denying the great benefits which have been conferred upon our aboriginal brethren by preceding administrations, and the salutary impulse that has been given to the cause of their civilization, I think the time has come when greater efforts should be put forth by the Government to teach them our fraternal connection with them, and the nature of the feelings which should subsist between us. There are obvious reasons which render it desirable that the State should take a more direct part in the work of civilizing the natives and in imbuing all classes of our civilized population with a deep sense of the advantage of speedily training and incorporating them among us. These are political reasons. We cannot or should not expect to build up the nationality we are daily picturing in our minds, and after which we are striving, with the scanty materials which come from the United States of America. * * * * In the bosom of these mighty forests lie the elements of the great African Nationality. They, brought out and instructed, are to develop the resources of this country, and extend and continue the noble work of which we have been privileged to assume the initiative, and to which we may hope we are giving a wholesome stimulus."

In his message of December of the same year the President said: "In pursuance of the law passed at your last session, to

establish regular official intercourse between the Government and the aborigines within our jurisdiction, I appointed, soon after your adjournment, commissioners in the different counties, and I am happy to say that, as far as I have learned, they have done a good work among the natives. * * * * We must do all we can to make them an effective part of ourselves—make them feel that as members of the same race our interests are identical. I do not consider it as either wise or dignified to hold an insulated place in regard to them.”

In his last message he again recurred to the subject in the following remarkable words: “I have for a long time thought that the native tribes residing within the near jurisdiction of the Republic could be brought into closer relationship with us by being required to contribute to the support of the Government, and by *being allowed such a representation in our national council as will easily commend itself to their comprehension.* * * * * There are in these forests men of royal blood and of minds susceptible of the most exalted ideas of systematic and well-balanced government; and by a proper appreciation of them, they could be made to sustain to us *a much nearer and dearer relation* than that of being mere contributors to our Treasury.”

The administration has never entertained the policy of admitting white men just now to political rights in the country. Instead of looking for help to Europeans, it has steadily looked to the vast interior, by intercourse with whose teeming millions immense and mutual benefits may be conferred. We may be able to convey to them the blessings of civilization and Christianity, and they in return give us of their wealth, which for the most part now goes to enrich others. Not that the administration has had any prejudice against foreigners, but it has felt that as a nascent negro nation we might be overshadowed and absorbed by the superior wealth and intelligence of Europeans; and it was thought that there should be one place in the world—one spot on the continent of our fathers where the Negro should be the man. The influx of Europeans would be an effectual hindrance to such a result; the Negro element would be “rendered subdued and silent,” if not altogether eliminated from any controlling influence. We dare not be liberal beyond

our ability. It is often thrown up to us as a taunt that we exclude Europeans from our political affairs. Well, just now we cannot help it. With the history of the American Indians, the poor Caribs, the Australians, and New Zealanders before us, we shrink from contest with that energetic race. It may be the fashion among Caucasians to be cosmopolite. But the Negro is so peculiarly circumstanced that the moment he undertakes to be cosmopolite, that moment he is stripped of a great deal which for the proper development of his manhood he ought to cherish. "What nation," asked Mr. Maynard, of Tennessee, in the United States Congress, "has ever admitted those of the dominating, conquering, land-stealing white race to positions of power that did not suffer in consequence of it?" The policy of the administration has, therefore, been to encourage, develop, and bring in the aborigines as speedily as possible, rather than the introduction of a foreign element.

"The bird that has been limed in bush,
With trembling wings misdoubteth every twig."

But the administration has not neglected to cultivate friendly intercourse with foreigners. Perhaps no administration has, in the same space of time, done as much to increase the foreign influence of the Republic as the present administration. The first and most important foreign measure was to enter into relations of friendship with the small State of our own race in the Western Hemisphere. Liberia stretched her arms across the Atlantic and embraced the Republic of Hayti.

An unfortunate interruption of friendly international relations between Liberia and France, caused by the matter of the *Regina Coeli*, has been happily adjusted, and an official communication sent by special conveyance from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs "expresses the interest which the Government of the Emperor continues to bear towards the State of Liberia, the desire which he entertains for the continuance of its prosperity, and his wish to maintain with it the best and most friendly relations." We are now represented by a Consul-General in France.

The dissatisfaction which the people of Liberia had felt towards the Spanish Government on account of the affair of the "Ceres," has been removed by the assurance given by her

Catholic Majesty's Government of the most friendly feelings towards Liberia and the deepest interest in her welfare. A Liberian Consul now resides at Madrid.

The Republic has entered into treaty stipulations with Portugal and induced that Government to insert an article denouncing the slave trade as piracy; and the President has received personal tokens of regard from Count Lavradio, the Portuguese Minister at the Court of St. James.

Great Britain has virtually withdrawn from the controversy respecting our north-western territory, and left the whole matter to be settled by circumstances.

Austria has entered into treaty stipulations with us. The nations of the far north have also given us the hand of friendship—Russia, Denmark and Sweden, and Norway.

Communication has been freely opened with the United States Government, as announced in the last Message of the lamented Lincoln: and it has recently appointed to reside near our Government a diplomatic officer of very high grade.

The administration has therefore shown its interest in extending our foreign relations and evinced the high estimate which it places upon the friendship of foreigners; when it retires from power it will leave the foreign affairs of the country in a satisfactory condition—the Republic enjoying the goodwill of all the great nations of the earth.

Without pecuniary resources, and working in a net work of fetters, the administration has put the internal and foreign affairs of the country in a direction and given them an impulse that must tell, if followed up, with important effect upon the development of coming years.

The future is now before us—measurably in our own hands—and its character will depend upon the way we now act. If we act a judicious and patriotic part—with hearts wide enough to embrace all mankind, and at the same time so narrow as to feel for and give special attention to the wants of the Negro—if we look upon ourselves as instruments and agents for the great work in this land, the most happy effects will be felt in all the desolate regions—blessings will attend us in all our ways, cries of failure and despondency will cease to be heard around us;

men will cease to complain of the poverty of the Government, and the inefficiency of the Legislature. Liberia will become a political organization deeper in its foundation, wider in its scope, and loftier in its significance than it has ever been. And in our various fields of labor, instead of crippling one another through jealousy, we shall stimulate one another to zeal and activity; and we shall bring about a movement in this part of the world such as it has never witnessed, and the influence of which the civilized world will be compelled to acknowledge. Our "experiment" on this coast will become a satisfactory demonstration.

Each one of us has a part to perform in this work; and our individual influence will tell in this great cause. The present generation of men will leave its character as an impress on our national character unto all generations. The smallest and most insignificant being has an effect upon his generation; and in this wide and extensive field there is room for every one. Every one has his place. Every one has personal power to help on this great cause. "Far down in the blue waters of the Indian Sea, little workers are constantly working, making their deposits, and building their cells. One dies and another succeeds. Myriads perish before any visible result is produced. But though the worker dies, the work is not lost. In the depths of the ocean the foundations are laid. Gradually beneath the waters the structure is rising. By and by the coral reef towers above the wave. Grass grows on its summit. Trees spring up and swing their branches in the breeze. Birds of the air pluck their fruit and nestle amid their foliage. Man builds his house under their shadow. And in mid-ocean a fruitful and smiling paradise has sprung from the unnoticed labors of those tiny workers."

Even so the fruits of our labor are not at once manifest. We shall pass away perhaps and no results appear. But our labor is not lost. Glorious results will be enjoyed by those who come after us. And though now by being misunderstood and misrepresented our names may be covered with the dust of obloquy, nevertheless they will appear in the hereafter as we desire them to appear. The light-house of Alexandria was considered

one of the wonders of the world. We read that when it was to be erected Ptolemy directed that his name should be inscribed on its base, that after coming ages might appreciate the debt they owed him. Sostrates, the architect, however, inscribed his own name on the stone, and then covered it with stucco, on which he wrote the name of the king. Old Time, with his rough hand, came and rubbed the stucco off, and the king's name perished, but this only brought to light the inscription in honor of the builder, who thus reaped the glory of his ingenuity and skill. So we who are laboring to lay the foundation of this State have hard work to do, but if we lay it well, though we be covered by the stucco of prejudice, envy, or malice, we are engraving our names on stone, and they will never die.

"Build *to-day* then strong and sure,
With a firm and ample base,
And ascending and secure
Shall *to-morrow* find its place."

When I consider the condition of this country, and see how much remains yet to be done, I cannot agree with Dr. Cumming that the world's night is drawing near. I look for a long day yet for the world. There is still a great deal of work to be done. Christianity has but begun its mission in this land, and science has not yet brought its resources to bear upon it. I believe that God is the God of the African as well as of the European; Christ is King of the whole earth. I would have the most horrible feeling if for one moment I could imagine that the Almighty has concentrated His whole thought upon the Caucasian, as the favored race, and left us entirely uncared for; and that now, after the Caucasian has reached the acme of his improvement the history of the world is to be wound up. No, I believe that there is a divine plan in history affecting the whole human race, of which the Negro is an integral portion. He has his part to perform

"Through the ages one increasing purpose runs."

There are evidently better days ahead, and we have the advantage in some respects of those who have gone before. We may ascend a platform far higher than our predecessors occu-

pied in the dim past. The accumulation of knowledge and stores of experience are our heritage.

"Lo the nations gone before us, who the path of progress trod,
How they stumbled in their blindness, how they wandered far from God,
With no Past to guide their footsteps, with no present save their own,
Need we wonder that their pathway is with wrecks of nations strewn?
But we come, the last of nations, to do battle for the right,
Armed with all the Present's progress, guided by historic light,
We may found a glorious era, on the old prophetic plan,
And with trust in God our Father, plant the brotherhood of Man."

And our very sufferings and trials may prove of advantage to us in the great work, enabling us to ascend an elevation whence we may descry in the distance what is invisible to others, a sort of St. Augustine's ladder—

"Standing on what too long we bore
With shoulders bent and downcast eyes,
We may discern unseen before,
The path to higher destinies."†

It is the morning that cometh with Africa—not the night, the long and dismal night just passing away. The horizon is quivering even now with a glorious light; the sun is rising higher and higher. That light which now faintly irradiates the mountain top will soon shine powerfully into all the valleys of ignorance and gloom; and the thousands of our brethren now in degradation will arise as by a moral resurrection, and standing erect in Christian manhood, sing the song of redemption.

"There is a fount about to stream,
There is a light about to beam,
There is a warmth about to flow,
There is a flower about to blow,
There is a midnight blackness changing into gray,
Men of thought and men of action
Clear the way.

Aid the dawning, tongue and pen,
Aid it, hopes of honest men;
Aid it, paper; aid it, type;
Aid it, for the hour is ripe,
And our earnest must not slacken into play;
Men of thought and men of action
Clear the way."

*Prof. Freeman of Liberia College.

†Longfellow.

COLORED MEN IN LIBERIA.

We notice a public statement that AUGUSTUS WASHINGTON, a colored man, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia, was at one time a penniless student at Meriden, New Hampshire.

This is true, and it is also true that the present Treasurer of the Republic, Hon B. V. R. JAMES, was once a poor colored boy, living in Weybridge and Wells, Vermont. In his eighteenth year he went to Andover, Massachusetts, and entered the Teacher's Seminary, of which Rev. S. R. Hall, L. L. D., now of Brownington, Vermont, was then principal. Dr. Hall received him into his family, and gave him instruction for three years. From thence he went to Africa, in November, 1831, where he has since resided, and has been useful in various positions of trust and honor.

H. W. JOHNSON, Esq., a Lawyer of highly respectable talents and position, now practicing his profession in Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, was once a poor colored boy in Vermont. He was born in Ferrisburgh, from which place his parents removed, when he was young, to the State of New York. For many years he kept a barber's shop in Canandaigua, and from that position he wrought his way, by his own energies, and the encouragement of a few friends, up to the Bar of the Supreme Court of the State of New York and to the place he now occupies in his chosen home in Africa.

MARTIN H. FREEMAN, the Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Liberia College, was once also a poor colored boy of Vermont. He was born in Rutland, where his aged mother now resides. Being assisted by Rev. Wm. Mitchell, Mr. Page, the father of our present governor, and by other good men in Rutland, and by Rev. Pres. Labaree, and others at Middlebury, he completed the regular course of study at Middlebury College. After being Principal, for some years, of Avery College, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, he went to Liberia, and is now planting the seeds of New England culture and of American literature and religion in his ancestral soil.

Prof. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL, (formerly connected with Liberia College) a graduate of Queen's College, England, now residing in Monrovia, and preaching the gospel, was also once a poor colored young man seeking instruction at a school in Canaan, New Hampshire, of which the Rev. Wm. Scales, of Lyndon, Vermont, was then teacher, and from which the black youth was driven by violence. Surely it is now too late to think the negro incapable of elevation, and they who befriend him labor in vain.—*Vermont Journal*.

THE AFRICAN RACE.

It is now more than forty-five years since we first became acquainted with the American Colonization Society, through the philanthropic labors of the first President of the Vermont Colonization Society, the Hon. ELIJAH PAINE, Judge of the United States District Court in that State for more than a quarter of a century. While we were never an *abolitionist*, in the primitive, strict sense of that term, we were instructed by the teachings and objects of this Society to take a lively interest in its prosperity and success, as one of the *practicable* measures for alleviating the condition of a down-trodden race.

It is not because we want to get rid of the negro, that we have from the above date uniformly encouraged, by the use of the press, and by occasional contributions, according to our ability, his removal to Liberia. It is because we have considered it for his best good to be returned to the land of his ancestors, where he can enjoy in full the blessings of "*Liberty and Equality.*" By proper education and culture he can make a good citizen here; but this is not, and can never be made, a congenial and happy residence for him. The climate of Liberia, its government and civil institutions throughout, are exactly adapted to his condition. He is not there exposed to competition with a race claiming intellectual and physical superiority. There the field of enterprise is open to him in every direction. He can, by industry and perseverance, accumulate an independent property, acquire comparative distinction in any of the learned professions, or attain the highest station in the military or civil departments of the government. It is true, that under the new order of things in the United States, it is not impossible for him, in process of time, to do all this here, but it will be a thousand times easier for him to accomplish these objects of a laudable ambition in the land of his fathers.—*Claremont (N.H.) Eagle.*

RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN MESURADO COUNTY.

MONROVIA, May 27, 1867.

The undersigned, Standing Committee of the missionary jurisdiction of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Mesurado County, beg to report:

That the several churches and stations under their supervision have been kept open regularly and supplied with religious services.

Your organized churches, Trinity, in Monrovia; St. Peter's, in Caldwell; Grace, in Clay-Ashland; and Christ Church, in Crozerville, have been duly attended. Besides which six out-

stations for preaching share the attention of the ministers and missionaries.

In connection with Trinity parish, Monrovia, are two stations, one among the Kroomen and one among the Congoes.

With St. Peter's Church are joined two preaching places, viz: New Georgia and Virginia.

Grace Parish, Clay-Ashland, includes an important and interesting station among the Mandingoes, who are chiefly Mohammedans. The rector of this Parish visits, preaches, and distributes Arabic bibles among the people.

Attached to Christ Church, Crozerville, are two stations, one at Carysburg and the other at Bensonville.

These are the points that now share and occupy the labors of your missionaries. Owing to the death of the Rev. E. W. Stokes, the Committee found it necessary to supply Crozerville and Carysburg by the appointment of two catechists, whose duty is to teach a day school and keep up regularly the Sabbath and week-day services, dividing between them the salary appropriated for the late rector. These catechists, Messrs. Robert Clarke and Paul A. Paulus, are pious, active, and intelligent, both of whom look forward to the ministry. The Committee are thankful to report five candidates for orders, two of whom hope for ordination on the arrival of Bishop Payne.

The membership of the church in this county has increased twenty per cent. during the year, and we have good reason to hope from present indications that a glorious ingathering of souls is at hand. There are now forty-six candidates waiting for confirmation.

Respectfully, yours,

ALFRED F. RUSSELL, *Chairman.*

G. W. GIBSON, *Secretary.*

LIBERIAN CLOTH.

We were perfectly delighted the other day to see, feel, and examine piece after piece of cloth—cotton cloth of an excellent fabric, sent to us by our friend J. O. Hines. This was manufactured at his loom on his farm up the Montserrado river. The cotton is native, the spinning is done here, and the weaving too is executed by an excellent weaver from Philadelphia.

We saw specimens of white unbleached cloth, firm and strong, and capital for shirting. Then a variety of striped goods, some red, some blue, the very dye stuffs procured here of a native vegetable matter, and the cotton yarn dyed by the weaver. Now this is just the thing. Go on friend Hines. Let folks see that here we have all the materials, and the operatives and artisans for manufacturing good, strong, home-made cotton

goods. And the next thing we should do, let us patronize such enterprise. Let us stand by our own growers of cotton, our own spinners, and weavers, our own mechanics and manufacturers. Who does not see, but the man willfully blind, that when we pay friend Hines ten dollars for his cloth, *that* money is apt to remain here in our own country, and helps to enrich it? But when we pay a foreigner \$10 in hardscrapped gold or silver, *that* is so much money sent out of our country, and helps to impoverish it. Let Liberians one and all patronize home made articles of every kind, if they love their country.—*The African Republic.*

NEW MISSION IN LIBERIA.

At the recent annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Committee on the Missions in Africa reported as follows:

"Your Committee regard with special interest the explorations recently instituted by the Prudential Committee, in order to discover a suitable site, at some point interior from Liberia, for a mission of colored men. These efforts deserve to be sanctioned and encouraged by the Board. From a mission so located and so organized, we might reasonably look for most auspicious results. It might become the first in a chain of missions, similarly manned, stretching far into that interior where the choicest African fruitage and the finest African manhood are found. It might, in due time, meet a kindred chain of missions reaching northward from the Zulu base; thus decking the zone of that swarthy continent with jewels more precious than her gold. Let us never despair of Africa. Though partly enveloped in mysterious barbarism, though in part possessed by a Mohammedanism little more than barbaric, *she also belongs to Christ.*"

From the Journal of Commerce.

THE WORK FOR LIBERIA.

A letter from Monrovia, by the ship Golconda, of August 20th, to a gentleman in New York, contains the following:

"Ex-Senator Finley, of Liberia, has decided to leave his residence at Caldwell, on the St. Paul river, and remove to the large native town of Bombo, a powerful Vey chief on Little Cape Mount river, 25 miles N. W. from Monrovia. Bombo has been a long time desirous to have a school teacher and spiritual instructor in his country, and has offered to receive and support a teacher, begging that some Liberian would un-

dertake the work. Mr. Finley, though advanced in years, has decided to volunteer, and said to President Warner that he has made up his mind to spend the rest of his life in this work as a duty he feels that he owes to his native brethren. This is a very important incident. Bombo a few years ago was an ambitious and blood-thirsty chief. He spread devastation through the Cape Mount country, until he was checked by the Liberian forces in 1853. He is now brought to sue for Liberian civilization and Christianity. May God forward the work. This is emphatically the work for Liberia." S.

From the South Carolina Leader.

LETTER FROM REV. H. W. ERSKINE.

MONROVIA, August 15, 1867.

REV. R. H. CAIN:

MY DEAR SIR: Owing to an overwhelming pressure of business I have been prevented from writing to you before this. I have been busily engaged in settling the newly arrived emigrants at Cape Mount, and superintending the surveying of their lands on the beautiful river Marfie.

The Secretary of State, H. R. W. Johnson, informed me that he forwarded to you a note from the State Department, acknowledging the reception of the very handsome flag sent by your generous church to the Government of Liberia. I sincerely hope you received his communication.

The flag sent by you was displayed for the first time since its reception, on the 26th of July, our national day, and was carried in the official procession over the heads of President Warner and Cabinet, the Foreign Diplomats, and a large number of our most distinguished citizens. I felt glad to have been the bearer of so beautiful an emblem of nationality from my negro brethren of Charleston. Who will deny our identification and community of interest? Liberia is progressing too in wealth, population, and all the attributes of a civilized nation. Our farmers are developing the resources of our rich soil, and present indications are that they will reap an abundant harvest. Our political atmosphere, which was disturbed during the last biennial election for President, is fast settling down to its ordinary temperature. There being no majority of votes for a President, the Legislature at its ensuing session, in December, will choose one from the three candidates having the highest number of votes. President Warner declined being a candidate.

Make my special salutations to the ladies who manifested so deep an interest in us in getting up the flag, and to all my friends in your city.

Yours fraternally,

H. W. ERSKINE.

LETTER FROM MR. FRANK SIMPSON.

The following letter from an intelligent emigrant, who embarked on the Golconda last spring, from Columbus, Georgia, has been handed us by the sister of the writer, to whom it is addressed:

GREENVILLE, LIBERIA, *August 6, 1867.*

MY DEAR SISTER: I write to inform you that we have arrived safely in Liberia, after a voyage of thirty-nine days. We sailed from Charleston May 30, and touched at Monrovia July 8, with all the passengers in good health. We staid at Monrovia ten days. I visited it, and found it mostly built of brick.

We brought three hundred and twenty emigrants. They all seemed to be very much pleased with the country. The whole country, from Monrovia to Greenville, is a rich and beautiful country. Greenville is a small village at the mouth of the Sinou river. We are now located about two miles up this river, in houses given to the emigrants to stay in for six months. We have six months provision given to us by the Colonization Society. The people here are very kind to us. Maria and Lottie are very well. Albert is well and sends his love to all. Pa and all are very well. I have a fine daughter, born at sea, June 19. We have named her Araminta Caroline. I hope that I may see you again. Give my love to the people at the plantation, and tell them if they can get to Liberia they must come, for Liberia is a country where a man can make a support by working half of his time. Everything grows here wild in the woods. Coffee grows all over the woods. Cotton grows here into a tree. The sugar cane grows larger than any I have ever seen. Potatoes grow all the time. Pine apples, cocoa nuts, oranges, lemons, and everything else grows wild in the woods.

I have long heard of Liberia, but now I see it, and I will say positively that Liberia is one of the best countries in the world. I wish that every colored person in America would come here. If a man cannot make a support here he will not make it anywhere. I expect to draw my land about nine miles up the river. Give my respects to Chapman, and let them all read this letter.

Your brother,

FRANK SIMPSON.

LETTER FROM MR. LEWIS SHERMAN.

The following is taken from a letter received from Mr. Lewis Sherman, leader of the company who went last spring from Macon, Georgia, and one of the most intelligent and worthy of men :

GREENVILLE, LIBERIA, August 1, 1867.

DEAR SIR: * * I am pleased with the country and find everything just as represented by the Colonization Society. I believe Liberia to be the home—the only home for the black man. It is his own country. He is second to none here. I find more happiness among the Liberians than I ever did in the United States. Many thanks to the Society for kindness shown. I remain your humble servant,

LEWIS SHERMAN.

VERMONT COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Forty-eighth Anniversary of the Vermont Colonization Society was holden at Montpelier on the 17th of October. At the business meeting at two o'clock p. m., a paper was laid before the Board of Managers, containing the resolutions passed by the Legislature of Vermont in 1850, asking of Congress to establish a line of mail steamers between this country and the Republic of Liberia. The subject of the resolutions was referred to a committee consisting of Gen. J. W. Phelps and the Secretary of the Society.

The following-named gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year: viz., Hon. Daniel Baldwin, President; Hon. John Gregory Smith and Hon. Samuel H. Kellogg, Vice Presidents; Rev. John K. Converse, Secretary; Geo. W. Scott, Esq., Treasurer; Samuel Wells, Esq., Auditor. Gen. J. W. Phelps and Rev. J. K. Converse were appointed delegates to the Parent Society at the annual meeting in Washington, January, 1868.

The public exercises were held in the afternoon in the Hall of the House of Representatives, the President, Hon. D. Baldwin, in the chair. A large assembly was present.

The Secretary, Rev. J. K. Converse, read the Annual Report of the Society; giving also the following reasons that should prompt to forward this object;—

1st. Africa needed the aid of all her scattered children to develop her vast resources, civilize her barbarous tribes, and bring them eventually to take their places among the nations.

2d. The negro here, needed that field in which to rise. He might be educated here, but his great labor must be performed there where there was call for it.

3d. He alone could endure that tropical climate, and must give himself to the high purpose of rescuing his race from barbarism.

The Treasurer, Mr. Scott, presented his report, showing that the net donations for the year, were \$1,031.56.

The annual address was then delivered by Gen. J. W. Phelps of Brattleboro.

FALL EXPEDITION FOR LIBERIA.

The ship "Golconda" will sail from Baltimore, November 2, and from Charleston, November 16, for Liberia. For cabin accommodations or freight, application should be made to Dr. James Hall, Baltimore. Intending emigrants should apply to the Secretaries of the American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C.

Letters will be forwarded, if sent in season to the care of Dr. Hall, Baltimore, or to Mr. Wm. Coppinger, Charleston, S. C. The United States postage of ten cents for each half ounce must be prepaid.

AID TO COLONIZATION.

The Colonization Society is in need of funds to send the waiting hundreds to Liberia.

The wisdom of the migration to Africa of her children has so many confirmations from circumstances existing, and the conditions that promise to intervene in future years, that every patriot, wherever his residence, should uphold and strengthen the hands of the Society.

If there were no other inducement to assist the Colonization plan—but they are numerous—the solitary object of the civilization and Christianization of the heathen is sufficient. Colon-

ization is the most feasible method by which it can be effectually done. So teaches all experience.

Even in a commercial aspect, it is wisest political economy for the fathers of to-day to so prepare the natives of that continent, intellectually and morally, as to open new marts for trade, and in coming time to confer means of wealth and happiness on their children. Africa teems with resources now idle, which other countries do not produce, and want.

The true key to open these gates of future plenty, is the talismanic word—donation. Let it flow into the treasury of the Society by innumerable rills, however little.

MEMORIAL OF THE SOCIETY.

In a very handsome 8vo volume, of 191 pages, published under the skillful supervision of the Rev. Dr. Tracy, of Boston, there is presented a "Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the American Colonization Society, celebrated at Washington, January 15, 1867, with documents concerning Liberia."

The volume contains President Latrobe's opening Address at the Society's meeting, Jan., 1867; selections from the Annual Report, showing the present condition of the Society, and the past year's work, with a brief summary of the past; President Warner's—of Liberia—Address, showing a Liberian's ideas, and how he can express them; Historical Discourse, by Dr. Tracy, showing the several origins of the Society in New England, in the Middle States, and in the Southern States, from 1773 to 1816; the work of the Society in prompting and enabling the United States Government to stop the importation of slaves; the origin of legitimate civil government in Liberia; the establishment of an independent Republic, and the missionary bearings of the work; Bishop Clark's Semi-Centennial Address and eloquent discussion of our present duties in regard to colonization; and finally, an Appendix, containing the Liberian Declaration of Independence, and Constitution, the first President's inaugural, showing affairs as they appeared then; and the last annual message, showing them as they are now. Also, a table of Chief Magistrates, table of Emigrants, and table of the annual Receipts of the Society since its organization.

The "Memorial" is for sale by the principal booksellers, price, one dollar; and may be ordered from the office of the Society.

THE COLONIZATION OF AFRICA.

The officers of the American Colonization Society have done wisely in preparing "A Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary" of that institution, which was celebrated at Washington city, January 15, 1867, and at the same time collecting within the compass of a small volume a variety of documents and data relating to the origin and progress of the Liberia Republic. Much valuable information may thus be diffused, and at a time when it is sought for with more avidity than ever before. The tabular statements presented show that in the fifty years since the colonization work commenced, the entire amount received through National and State organizations for this object is \$2,558,907. Emigrants to the number of 13,136 have received free passage, including about 6,000 emancipated by slave-owners, that they might be sent to Liberia.

The African Republic dates from August 24, 1847. The first emigrants sailed February, 1820. At the present time the territory of the Liberia Government extends 600 miles along the coast, and indefinitely toward the interior, the native title to which has been fairly purchased. The whole is under the jurisdiction of a Christian State, with its schools and college, a nominally Christian population of about 15,000 and at least 200,000 of native inhabitants who are gradually conforming to the ideas and usages of civilized life. Liberia College has already begun to distribute Arabic books, from the press of the American Mission in Syria, among some of the interior tribes. None are more enthusiastic in regard to the future of Liberia than the highly intelligent (negro) men who have heretofore occupied the Presidential chair of the Republic, or otherwise been identified with the Government since its foundation. President Warner says: "My hopes are as strong as ever, and my confidence remains unshaken in the destiny of Liberia."—*New York Journal of Commerce*.

THE FIFTEENTH TREATY.

On Wednesday, 25th September, 1867, the Ambassador of Austria and the Consul General of Liberia exchanged ratifications of a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between Austria and Liberia, at the Imperial Austrian Embassy in Belgrave Square, London. This is the fifteenth treaty the Liberian Republic has made with European and American Powers.

DEPARTURE OF BISHOP PAYNE.—Bishop Payne, accompanied by Mrs. Payne and Miss Mary E. Savery, a recently appointed missionary teacher, sailed for Liberia, via England, on Thursday, the 5th of September.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 20th of September to the 20th of October, 1867.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.		
Walpole—Frederick Vose.....	\$20 00	
VERMONT.		
Vermont Colonization Society by Geo. W. Scott, Treas.		
Pittsford—Aug. Hammond, S.		
H. Kellogg, Asa Nourse, Isaac		
C. Wheaton, each \$5; Henry		
F. Lathrop, J. A. Randall, D.		
B. Boyce, John Stevens, each		
\$3; E. A. Deney, C. Granger,		
W. B. Shane, C. T. Colburn, F.		
Burditt, T. D. Hall, R. Bur-		
ditt, H. F. Tiffany, Lewis		
White, J. Powers, each \$2; A.		
M. Cowly, M. P. Humphrey,		
each \$1; A. C. Powers, 65 cts.,		
by S. H. Kellogg.....	54 65	
Milton—Jonathan W. Cary, to		
constitute himself a Life		
Member, by Rev. J. K. Con-		
verse.....	30 00	
CONNECTICUT.		
By Rev. J. R. Miller, (\$164 50)		
Fitchville—Mrs. Sherwood Ray-		
mond.....	15 00	
Lebanon—Jabez Fitch, legacy,		
per Miss Abby Fitch, Execu-		
rix, \$100, less Government		
tax, \$6—\$94; Jere. Mason, \$10;		
Miss Abby Fitch, \$6; L. L.		
Huntington, Wm. R. Gay, ca.		
\$5; Mrs. Dr. Green, Miss Julia		
Maxwell, each \$2 50; Dr.		
Charles Sweet, Hart Talcott,		
Dea. E. Huntington, Judge		
Dolbear, each \$2; J. C. Wil-		
liams, Mrs. Mary H. Dutton,		
Mrs. Mary A. Talcott, Dea. A.		
Williams, C. G. Geer, Miss		
Sarah Lyman, C. H. Tilley, E.		
Huntington, Miss R. M. Dol-		
bear, Geo. E. Hewitt, Harvey		
Chappel, ca. \$1; N. C. Barker,		
\$1 50.....	145 50	
Bridgeport—Miss S. C. Ward,		
Miss L. R. Ward, each \$1.....	2 00	
Deep River—Alexis Pratt.....	2 00	
NEW YORK.		
By Rev. Dr. Orcutt, (\$121.)		
Brooklyn—John Sniffin, Jr.,		
cash, Dr. T. L. Mason, ca. \$20;		
Mrs. M. Dimon, Samuel B.		
Stewart, James A. Degrauw,		
J. W. Harper, ca. \$10; Chas.		
Miller, \$1; Mrs. John F. Her-		
riman, \$5.....	106 00	
Matteawan—Ben. Joseph How-		
land, \$10; David Davis, \$5.....	15 00	
NEW JERSEY.		
Princeton—First Pres. Church,		
by Jacob W. Lane, Treas.....	32 00	
By Rev. Hollis Read, (\$218 37.)		
Rahway—Coll. First P. Church		20 50
Amboy—Union Coll. \$12 21;		
Cash, \$2.....	14 21	
Hackensac—Coll. Second Dutch		
Reformed Church.....	15 20	
Jersey City—Collection Dutch		
Reformed Church, Rev. Dr.		
Van Cleef, pastor.....	67 00	
New Brunswick—Coll. First P.		
Church, \$34 31; Coll. Second		
P. Church, \$5 10; Judge Run-		
yon, \$5; Cash, \$2.....	46 41	
Elizabethport—Coll. Presbyter-		
ian Church.....	10 00	
Passaic—Coll. Dutch Reformed		
Church.....	39 05	
	218 37	
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.		
Washington—Miscellaneous....		86 50
TENNESSEE.		
Nashville—Mrs. E. S. Cameron.		50 00
OHIO.		
Xenia—Legacy of John Vanen-		
ton, balance in full, by J. C.		
McMillan.....	10 00	
Cedarville—Coll. Reformed P.		
Church, Rev. J. F. Morton,		
pastor, by H. H. McMillan....	32 68	
Bolivar—David Yant.....	50 00	
	92 68	
FOR REPOSITORY.		
NEW HAMPSHIRE—Walpole—		
Frederick Vose, to Aug. 1, '76.		5 00
VERMONT—Newbury—P. W.		
Ladd, to Oct. 1, '67, by Rev. J.		
K. Converse.....	1 00	
NEW YORK—Cuba—Rev. James		
Thompson, to Oct. 1, '67.....	1 12	
PENNSYLVANIA—Philadelphia		
—John Clayton, Alex. Brown,		
Theo. Bliss, S. A. Coyle & Co.,		
Charles Dutilh, James C.		
Booth, Dr. Samuel Jackson,		
D. Hamaker, James C. Hand,		
Zebulon Locke, Edwin L.		
Abbott, Thomas Latimer,		
Joshua Cowpland, W. L. Le-		
jee, C. E. Lex, George Cook-		
man, each \$1, to July 1, '68, by		
Rev. Thomas S. Malcom.....	16 00	
OHIO—Cedarville—H. H. McMil-		
lan, to October 1, '68.....	1 00	
Repository.....	24 12	
Legacies.....	104 00	
Donations.....	688 70	
Miscellaneous.....	86 50	
Total.....	\$883 32	

DEC. 11, 1867.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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MASSACHUSETTS—Hon. G. Washington Warren, Joseph S. Ropes, Esq.

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NEW YORK—Thomas Davenport, Esq., Hon. James W. Beekman.

NEW JERSEY—Hon. F. T. Frelinghuysen, Hon. A. G. Cattell, Rev. R. M. Abercrombie, D. D., Rev. William H. Steele, Rev. Robert L. Dashiell, D. D.

PENNSYLVANIA—William V. Pettit, Esq., Rev. Thomas S. Malcom, Rev. William E. Schenck, D. D., Rev. Howard Malcom, D. D., James P. Michellon, Esq.

FORM OF REQUEST.

Those who wish to make bequests to the American Colonization Society can best secure their object by using the following form, viz:

"I give and bequeath the sum of ——— dollars to A. B., in trust for the American Colonization Society," &c.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called "The American Colonization Society."

ARTICLE 2. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or in such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

ARTICLE 3. Every citizen of the United States who shall have paid to the funds of the Society the sum of one dollar, shall be a member of the Society for one year from the time of such payment. Any citizen who shall have paid the sum of thirty dollars, shall be a member for life. And any citizen paying the sum of one thousand dollars, shall be a Director for life. Foreigners may be made members by a vote of the Society or of the Directors.

ARTICLE 4. The Society shall meet annually at Washington, on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. At the annual meeting, a President and Vice-President shall be chosen, who shall perform the duties appropriate to those offices.

ARTICLE 5. There shall be a Board of Directors composed of the Directors for life, and of Delegates from the several State Societies and Societies for the District of Columbia and Territories of the United States. Each of such Societies shall be entitled to one delegate for every five hundred dollars paid into the treasury of this Society within the year previous to the annual meeting.

ARTICLE 6. The Board shall annually appoint one or more Secretaries, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of seven persons; all of whom shall *ex officio* be members of the Board. The President of the Society shall also be a Director *ex officio* and President of the Board; but in his absence at any meeting a Chairman shall be appointed to preside.

ARTICLE 7. The Board of Directors shall meet annually in Washington, immediately after the annual meeting of the Society, and at such other times and places as it shall appoint, or at the request of the Executive Committee, and at the request of any three of the Auxiliary State Societies, communicated to the Corresponding Secretary. Seven Directors shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE 8. The Executive Committee shall meet according to its own appointment or at the call of the Secretary. This Committee shall have discretionary power to transact the business of the Society, subject only to such limitations as are found in its charter, in this Constitution, and in the votes that have been passed, or may hereafter be passed by the Board of Directors. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be members of the Committee *ex officio*, with the right to deliberate, but not to vote. The Committee is authorized to fill all vacancies in its own body; to appoint a Secretary or Treasurer whenever such offices are vacant; and to appoint and direct such Agents as may be necessary for the service of the Society. At every annual meeting the Committee shall report their doings to the Society, and to the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE 9. This Constitution may be amended upon a proposition to that effect, made and approved at any meeting of the Board of Directors, or made by any of the Auxiliary Societies represented in the Board of Directors, transmitted to the Secretary, and published in the official paper of the Society three months before the annual meeting; provided such amendment receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at its next annual meeting.